

AN ACCOUNT
OF
THE PIRATES
EXECUTED AT ST. CHRISTOPHER'S,
IN THE WEST INDIES, IN 1728.

WITH ENDOGRAPHIC CONTRAITS.

BY ENOCH WOOD.

LONDON

PUBLISHED BY JOHN MARSH, 14, CITY ROAD,
AND SOLD AT MR. PATTERSON'S, &c.

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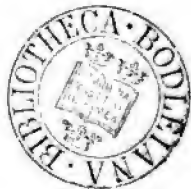


CAPTAIN JOSEPH LAZARO BUYSAN.

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[Entered at Stationers' Hall.]

INTRODUCTION.

THE following pages contain a plain statement of the capture, trial, and untimely death of a horde of pirates, who had committed a variety of depredations on vessels of almost every nation. An account of the affair was issued from the colonial press; but, as that did not comprehend any particulars of their religious behaviour, and the visits and conversations of different ministers with them, the following narrative will supply that defect.

*ST. CHRISTOPHER'S,
December 17th, 1828.*



THE PIRATES,

&c.

MAN'S worst foe is man.—KIRKE WHITE.

THE *Las Damas Argentinas* was a large top-sail schooner, about ninety tons burden ; mounting one long eighteen pounder, fixed on a pivot, and had, when taken, a stand of small arms for sixty men. Amongst these were a large number of long knives,—weapons which the Spaniards use very dexterously. They are about the size of a common English carving-knife, but for several inches up the blade cut both sides. On one side of these was engraved in Spanish, “ *Never draw me but with reason ;* ” and on the other,

"Never sheathe me but with honour." The original proprietors of the schooner resided at Baltimore, in America. She sailed as a privateer under the Buenos Ayrean government; the commission being granted to a Mr. Quincy, for one year, dated in 1826. From Quincy it was transferred to a Mr. George Styles; and from Styles to Captain Joseph Lazaro Buysan; who, to serve his purpose, altered the date of it.

Buysan, though in the morn of life, had passed through various chequered scenes. By his own account he was descended from a respectable family at Majorca, a Spanish island in the Mediterranean. He received his education at a military college there; and at a very early period entered the Spanish navy. He was an Officer on board the *Ligero* man of war, and engaged in an action with the *Boquilla de Pedra* on the coast of Vera Cruz, when they threw off the yoke of Old Spain. In this affair he was wounded by a musket-shot in the right hand. Honourably as he commenced his career, promotion not

arriving so rapidly as his ambition or thirst for money led him to wish, he relinquished his post as the defender of his country's rights, and engaged in the most degrading of all human occupations,—

A dealer in the muscles and the bones of man !

In this service he acted as mate on board a vessel trading from the Havannah to the coast of Guinea ; receiving eighty dollars per month, beside four dollars additional for each slave they obtained. Wealth now flowing in more plentifully, he became owner of a privateer against the Colombians, in 1821 ; which being lost in a storm when he was on shore, he again had recourse to the slave-trade. In this he continued until he became acquainted with the parties owning the *Las Damas Argentinas*. Beside the wound in his hand, he was also wounded in two other places, but not very severely, whilst beating off the crews of two Colombian privateers when “slaving,” and through

the superior sailing of his vessel made his escape.

The first voyage of the schooner was in November, 1826. Her crew was shipped in St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's. She was then under the command of Quincy ; and Buysan acted as prize-master. The vessel bore the name of Bolivar ; but a few hours after they departed, the commission was shown to the crew, and her name changed to Las Damas Argentinas. They steered to the Western Isles ; and, after cruising in that vicinity, proceeded to Cape St. Vincent, where a Spanish Felucca † was taken laden with iron. An Officer and prize-crew being put on board, she was sent to St. Eustatius, in the West Indies ; but as she never reached port, and the crew was never heard of, it was supposed she foundered at sea. The crew of the Felucca were put on board a Spanish brig, which was met with a few days after, and allowed to continue her

† A small vessel with three masts, known amongst English sailors by the term *Lugger*.

voyage. From Cape St. Vincent they sailed for the coast of Lisbon, and there captured a ship bound from Rio Janeiro, under Portuguese colours, laden with coffee, hides, and sugar. She was called the *Admirante Pacheco*. The Captain acknowledged the cargo was Brazilian, and the vessel Portuguese. The crew of this prize was put on board a French vessel, ten dollars for each man being given to the Captain for taking them, and a barrel of beef and bread. At the termination of this cruise, the men were paid off at St. Eustatius, and the Officers at St. Thomas's.

In May 1828, she was fitted out again for another cruise, and was then placed under the command of Buysan. The following letters contain some of his instructions:—

“ Baltimore, April 26, 1828.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I HAVE received your two letters. I send the sails by this vessel in a hogshhead to Messrs. Cabot & Co. The other articles I

could not get on board ; but will ship them next week. *Officers*, I am afraid, cannot be had : I shall try in Phila. In the mean time, if you can get any, you had better do so. I wish you NOT to write home what you intend to do. This was an understanding when I left you ; BUT YOU FORGOT IT. Let it not happen again : Keep every thing quiet from every body ; PARTICULARLY PEOPLE FROM BALTIMORE.

“ Destroy this letter.

“ A.”

“ To MR. J. DEBUYSAN.”

“ Phila., May 10, 1828.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ MR. GEORGE STYLES is authorised by me to do with the schooner whatever he may think best ; I beg you, therefore, to look to him precisely as you would to me, were I present on the spot. You are short in your interest of fifty dollars, which you will pay

to him. I have had considerable trouble to procure the gentlemen who accompany Mr. Styles. I wish Mr. Taylor to come in the *first vessel*, if he likes. I have so promised. I feel confident you will treat them all like GENTLEMEN. Do not forget that *black-guard, Quincy*. The sooner things can be done, the better; but no *talk*, and no *writing home*. You can talk to your sweetheart; but *I beg you not to write*. Wishing you every success,—Your's,

“ H.”


“ TO MR. J. DEBUYSAN.”

Being fully equipped, Buysan steered again for the Western Islands. A day or two after starting, he mustered the crew, fifty-nine in number, and read the commission. Hoisting the Buenos Ayrean flag, he asked them if they would fight for and defend that flag; to which they replied by giving three cheers.

* The words distinguished by italics and small capitals are underlined in the original. H. A. are the initials of Henry Armstrong.

Proceeding on their voyage, they fell in with the ship *Peru*, from Nantucket, bound to the Brazilian coast. Mr. Cooper, an American Officer, was ordered on board to plunder her of her rigging. This was obeyed; but Cooper left something as an equivalent out of his own funds. Five Portuguese vessels, (two brigs, two schooners, and a brigantine,) with a Spanish brig, were taken; and, after being stripped of all the valuable goods they had, were allowed to proceed. An English schooner from Jersey, called the *Phoenix*, bound to Rio Janeiro, was plundered. Shortly after, a French brig, laden with lead, bound to Malaga, was taken; and the articles unlawfully seized from the other vessels being put on board of her, she was sent to St. Eustatius.

About nine o'clock on the morning of the 20th July, a sail to windward was discovered. They were then between the Straits of Gibraltar and the Canary Islands. She was instantly chased, and by three in the afternoon of the same day was overtaken.



The arms were distributed, with a plentiful supply of ammunition, should any resistance be made. When the schooner bore down upon her, she had Colombian colours flying. A blank cartridge was fired to bring her to ; but not showing colours, or obeying this, a shot was fired, the gun being elevated by the Captain himself. She then hauled up the English flag, and hove her main-top-sail to the mast. The schooner running under her stern, hailed her, and asked where she was from, and where bound. The answer was, " From Liverpool to Buenos Ayres." Her name was the Carraboo, Captain Cook, Commander. Buysan ordered the Captain to send his boat on board ; on which the mate and four seamen were sent off. Upon entering the schooner, they were put under a guard ; and two lieutenants and two quarter-masters were directed to take possession of the boat, and proceed to the brig. They examined her cargo, when one of them made a motion to plunder her, but this was objected to by the rest. A very short time elapsed before

the Captain was sent for, and his papers. As soon as the value of her cargo was ascertained, (which amounted to upwards of twenty thousand pounds,) Buysan resolved to take her. In this decision, which he hastily formed, he was not to be moved by the opposition of the Surgeon, who expostulated with him upon the danger of taking an English vessel ; insisting that, instead of acting in that manner, he ought to protect her, as she was bound to the very port from whence he had his commission. This did but exasperate him ; for, in accordance with his former achievements of plunder, he ordered a crew of Spaniards, and, appointing an Officer, sent them on board the Carraboo, with directions for the English crew and passengers to be sent off as prisoners. They hastily collected what few articles of wearing apparel, money, &c., they could procure in the short space of time allotted them, and were then taken on board the pirate ; where they were indiscriminately thrust into the main hold, to be the unfortunate companions of six Frenchmen

who belonged to the brig they had recently taken. The Spaniards returned from the Carraboo, laden with plunder of all kinds; which was divided by Buysan into lots, and each man obtained his share of it.

Captain Cook and his officers, passengers and crew, were confined in a hold three feet and a half deep, the officers being only allowed to come on deck daily. They were guarded by armed Spaniards day and night, ready for any act of cruelty their Commander might please to order. The ill-will which existed between the Spaniards, and the English and Americans, prevented Buysan allowing the latter to be upon guard over the English and French prisoners, for fear a conspiracy should be formed for taking away the vessel. So jealous was he of any communications passing between them, that the Spanish sentinels were ordered to blow out the brains of the first man who dared to speak to them.

The Surgeon of the pirate was an American of considerable attainments. He had

graduated in Baltimore, and had his certificate with him. For three years he practised in the neighbourhood of his birth-place, with a fair prospect of obtaining more than sufficient to meet his wants. A restlessness of disposition, innate with some persons, induced him to wish for a change; and when staying a few days in Baltimore, before occupying the situation he had fixed upon, hearing of this vessel fitting out and wanting one of his profession, he consented to go with her. In this affair he was induced to accept of the offer, as it yielded him an opportunity of more speedily obtaining an independency than the honourable pursuit for which he had been educated. He was in her when she made her first voyage, and, when taken prisoner, sustained the three-fold character of Surgeon, Captain's Clerk, and purser. Talents like his, prostituted to such dishonourable pursuits, is a subject of deep regret. A very unfavourable impression of this man was at first entertained in the place where he was confined

as a prisoner, and admitted as evidence for the Crown ; an impression which was not borne out or sanctioned by any particular developement of transactions, which reflected more upon him than any other. It was, however, gratifying to hear that he offered his bed to Mr. Tailleure, a passenger in the Carraboo, but was frustrated in his intended kindness by the refusal of the Captain, on the score of the possibility of its creating jealousy amongst the rest of the prisoners.

On the 21st of July they were off the coast of Africa. To secure his prizes most effectually, Captain Buysan proposed to land his prisoners on the coast of Morocco. There, placed in the most abject state of slavery in the world, they would have groaned out a miserable existence, till death's welcome voice had freed them from their chains. Had he not been thwarted by the first Lieutenant, whose opposition was strengthened by some of the rest, there is little doubt but he would have carried his purpose into effect ; and then, without some remarkable interposition

of Divine Providence, there would have been little hope of any of them seeing their native land again. Dark and uncertain still was the fate of these unfortunate men. They were kept in suspense till the third day ; when the Canary Islands hove in sight. The pirates shaped their course for Lanzarote ; and, when five miles from shore, the jolly-boat of the Carraboo was hoisted out, and the whole twenty ordered into it. Accustomed to danger as they were, yet they could not comply with the command without murmuring at the perilous condition in which Buysan was placing them. The breeze was blowing fresh along the land ; the gunwale of the boat but a few inches from the water's edge ; no provisions or water had been given them ; they had no sail ; and what few clothes they were permitted to take (a favour only allowed the Frenchmen) were obliged to be cast into the sea, to hinder the boat from being swamped. In this situation they commenced their labours at the oars ; but, notwithstanding the skill of the Captains, and the strength

of the men, they must have perished, had they not been providentially discovered from the town of Lanzarote, and two boats sent out to relieve them.

The pirates bore away to an adjoining island, anchored to water, stayed four days, and then started again in search of plunder. They had not been out long before they descried a vessel which they chased, and thinking her to be a smuggler, trading between Gibraltar and Spain, as such vessels contain valuable cargoes, they crowded all sail to come up with her. She hoisted the Tuscan flag. Two guns had been fired at her from the Las Damas Argentinas, when a gust of wind upset the pirates. The vessel lay upon her beam ends, the water pouring into her hatches, and the men, in the utmost consternation, pale with dread, were clinging to her shrouds and rigging, expecting her momentarily to go down. Without any visible cause or exertion on their part, she as suddenly righted. Buysan thought himself too near to grasp a valuable prize to be

deterred by this ; he kept on the chase. The captain discovering he must either fight or be captured, unexpectedly showed six guns, and poured such a salute into his opponent, that he was glad to get out of the reach of such a disputant. The shot cut the sails and rigging, but not a man was wounded. It was now determined to make the coast of Brazil ; but a succession of storms for sixteen days baffled their designs, and, finally, they resolved on terminating the cruise.

The prize-officer put on board the Carra-boo, whose name was Taylor, was an American. He was not inactive to the adoption of measures which might tend to elude the discovery of her being an English brig. Her external appearance was changed by her being painted black, a colour well suited to the transaction. On the thirteenth of August, the vessel appeared off St. Eustatius. The agreement made with their agents here, was, that whatever was sent in by them should lay off till they boarded them ; and in the event

of their being boarded by any other person, the prize-officer was to state, that his vessel was in a leaky condition, and that he wished to enter the port, to sell part of his cargo to repair. They hoisted a private signal, and communicated with the shore. In the evening of the same day, having taken several persons on board, they sailed from St. Eustatius to Saba, an island about twenty miles to the west, and under the same government. The population of Saba is very small. To get to the town you have to climb what is termed the Ladder-hill, which is about a mile long, and in some places so steep, that it must be ascended on the hands and knees, making your way over large pieces of rock which dispute your progress. Here the American and seven Spaniards left the vessel, and proceeded to St. Bartholomew's. She was taken possession of by the Dutch authorities, and carried back to St. Eustatius, under the pretext of her being abandoned. This having come to the knowledge of his Honour the Commander-in-chief of

St. Christopher's, a British island, only separated from the former by a channel of the sea nine miles wide, he, actuated from principles of humanity, (for at that time the fate of the crew was unknown,) and from indignant feelings against this flagrant act, dispatched one of his aides-de-camp, to ascertain the truth of the report, and to claim the vessel should she prove to be British property. There being every evidence of this, she was demanded in the name of his Britannic Majesty. After considerable disputation it was agreed she should be given up, provided that one-third of her cargo was left for salvage. The following letter was sent from Lieutenant Colonel Harper, the messenger sent down, to his Honour, the Commander-in-chief:—

“ St. Eustatius, August 26, 1828.

“ SIR,

“ I have received your Honour's letter of yesterday, directing me, if I should apprehend any danger in removing the brig from

her anchorage in this port, to detain her until a sufficient force can be sent for her protection.

“Privateers have certainly been seen hovering off this port every day since my arrival ; and by the sloop *Active*, which has just come in from St. Christopher’s, I learn that a very suspicious-looking vessel, answering the description of the one which is supposed to have sent in the *Carraboo*, is now under the land of St. Christopher’s, near *Helden’s Bay*, apparently waiting for us. Under these circumstances, I do not think it would be prudent to run the risk of taking up the brig, unless accompanied by a protecting force ; and as it is possible that an attempt may be made to cut her out from her anchorage, I have thought it my duty to apply to the Commandant for a military guard to be put on board at sunset.

“I am happy in being able to acquaint your Honour, that many of the old and respectable inhabitants of this colony are justly indignant at the system of plunder which is

in operation by the privateers and their agents at this port ; but their dread of the influence which those persons have with some in authority, makes them afraid to give me all the information they are in possession of.

“ I can however collect, that depredations to a very great extent have been for some time carried on by these privateers, under cover of the Buenos Ayrean flag ; that upon an average two or three large vessels are sent in here every week ; that the cargoes are sometimes transhipped, and sent from hence to St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas, and the vessels destroyed. In a few instances, the goods have been unpacked ashore, and the boxes, casks, or other packing cases, filled with stones, reshipped, and sunk with the vessels.

“ A brig came in here on Saturday morning, which was admitted to be a prize, and said to be loaded with pig lead. She lay to here all day ; at night several boat-loads of apparently light articles were landed from her



LIEUTENANT ALFRED COOPER

in the very face of the guard ; and on Sunday morning she had disappeared. It is said she has been sunk.

“As, from present appearances, we must remain here until some force able to protect the brig can be obtained, I would suggest to your Honour, whether it would not be advisable to despatch a vessel in search of a man-of-war, requesting protection up to St. Kitt’s.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“THOMAS HARPER,

“Lieutenant-Colonel and Aide-de-Camp.”

“ To his Honour,

“STEDMAN RAWLINS, ESQ.”

Providentially his Majesty’s packet the *Emulous* arrived from England at this time of suspense, when arrangements were made with her Commander, to protect the vessel up to St. Christopher’s.

On Wednesday morning, the third of September, His Majesty’s ship *Victor*, eighteen guns, Captain Lloyd, arrived at the port of

Basseterre on her way to Jamaica. His Honour the Commander-in-chief having acquainted Captain Lloyd with the foregoing proceedings, he readily offered his services in prosecuting a further investigation of the circumstances connected with the capture of the Carraboo. In pursuance of this arrangement the Victor sailed for Saba and St. Eustatius the next morning. After obtaining what information they could, they departed at nine o'clock in the morning of the sixth for St. Christopher's. When a little more than half-way across the channel, a schooner was seen full of men, exactly answering the description previously given of the vessel which captured the Carraboo. The Victor changed her course, and when within gun-shot fired to bring her to : They took no notice of this, but put out sweeps to facilitate their escape. A second and a third were fired ; still there were no signs of compliance. The Captain was about to pour in a fatal broadside, when it was discovered she had hoisted Dutch co-

lours. Out of respect to that flag she was suffered to proceed ; but as soon as she got under the land of St. Eustatius, this was hauled down, and the Buenos Ayrean hoisted. The first Lieutenant was sent on shore, who proceeded to the Government House, and demanded her as Captain Lloyd's prize. She turned out to be the *Las Damas Argentinas*. Buysan acknowledged his having taken the brig in question, but assigned as a reason, what he considered as perfectly justifying him, that he found a Portuguese register on board. Unfortunately for him, he had omitted to erase the name of the vessel for which the register was made out ; and instead of *Carraboo*, the name of *Devino Imperador* appeared.* After a delay of some hours,

* How he became in possession of this, the following extract from a letter, dated Lisbon, July 15th, will plainly show :—"The *Devino Imperador* sailed hence yesterday, and was boarded by a vessel which did not show her colours. The Captain asked for her papers, and finding them in the name of *Don Miguel I.*, King of Portugal, said that he did not know such a person, and seized the vessel. The crew were put into a fishing-boat, and returned here to-day."

they were unconditionally given up. The crew were immediately taken out and put as prisoners on board the Victor.

It was at noon on the 7th September, the news reached St. Kitt's. The general regret which had been shown ever since the arrival of the ill-fated brig, instantly gave place to a feeling of joy that the hand of retribution had so speedily come upon the perpetrators of this act. Some of the inhabitants living near the mountains, prompted by a spirit of curiosity, ascended sufficiently high to gain a sight of the channel, when the Victor was seen standing for the port of Basseterre with the schooner as her prize. Crowds of the inhabitants rushed upon the bay as the vessels hove in sight. Such was the anxiety, that a temporary suspension was put to business. A little after noon the alarm-guns were fired from the fort, and the British standard hoisted at the respective flag-staffs, as a signal that martial law was proclaimed. The windward battalion of the island militia got under arms, and proceeded

to the beach to receive the prisoners. Twenty-eight of them, principally Spaniards, were landed under the direction of Captain Lloyd and his Officers, attended by a guard of marines. Being collected together on the shore, they were speedily lodged in the common jail. On the day but one following, the Captain and Officers were landed in a similar way, and lodged with their companions in guilt. A strong military guard surrounded the place of confinement.

They were visited by the Hon. and Rev. D. G. Davies, A. M., Rector of Basseterre, accompanied by his Curate, the Rev. Mr. Clinkett. Some of the Homilies of the Church of England were circulated among them, and other methods of impressing their minds with a sense of religion were adopted. The Moravian Missionaries too contributed their assistance. In this necessary work, but one feeling seemed to pervade the minds of the different individuals who attended to give spiritual help ;—that of doing them all the good within their power.

The first visit of a Wesleyan Missionary to the prisoners was in consequence of the following letter :

“ Jail, 11th September, 1828.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I drop you a line or two requesting the favour of your calling at the jail, as I wish very much to say a few words to you concerning the state of my soul. I am, Sir, a native of Tortola, and knew you when I was in the Sunday-school in that island ; but I unfortunately sailed on board this vessel, which I fear will be my ruin,—at the same time not knowing she was a pirate, &c. Kind Sir, pray for me, and please to let me see you. Leaving my case in the hands of that all-sufficient Being who knows all things,

“ I am, Dear Sir,

“ Your distressed Servant,

“ JOSEPH FLEMING.”

“ To the Rev. A. WHITEHOUSE.”

Upon our arrival at the prison, the Spaniards were found in one room, and the English in another. Upon the floor of the prison, the squares of a backgammon board were cut, and the Spaniards were engaged in play with pieces of cork for chess-men. The English prisoners were attended first. Harrison, who was a quarter-master, and afterwards admitted as evidence for the crown, was rude and insolent when addressed. He affected a total indifference to religion, and repaid the kindness of his instructor by telling him in a surly manner, he did not want to hear any thing he had got to say ; he knew he must die, and had made up his mind to it. With this, he turned his back, and walked to the other end of the cell.

The Surgeon politely stepped up, and begged that Harrison's conduct might not prevent the kind visits of those whose sole motive was to impart to them spiritual instruction. He wished to excuse him, from a representation of his ignorance :—From the age of five years this man had never been a

month on shore ; it was therefore no great wonder that he manifested indifference and dislike to sacred subjects. Harrison began to pace the room, and was attended by the missionary, who attempted to bring home to his mind a conviction of his sinfulness and guilt. Perceiving it in vain to try to get rid of his unwelcome visitor, he sat down on a bag containing wearing apparel, and listened in sullen silence to the truths spoken. He remained in this position during prayer, exclaiming when it was proposed, " God be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins ! "


As all of them denied the capital crime for which they stood charged, it was the more difficult to speak closely to them. It became necessary to make preliminary observations,—that they were not addressed with *particular* allusion to the sin which brought them there ; and as the time for a fair and impartial trial was not far distant, it would then be proved whether they were innocent or guilty ; but the general tenor of their lives no doubt afforded sufficient reason

to think upon them with regret, and now to embrace the favourable opportunity of repentance. The task, it must be acknowledged, is an arduous one, which aims at impressing men with serious conviction when placed in such circumstances that the pronouncement of a verdict of Guilty or Not Guilty, which seals the death-warrant or opens the prison-doors, is the paramount subject on which the mind is occupied. The prevalency of hope or fear, and the consequent disturbed feelings, conspire to render the implanting of permanent religious convictions almost a hopeless duty. This statement receives confirmation from the fact, that the nearer they approached their trial, the more discouraging was the work of instruction, from the careless spirit manifested by the prisoners.

In the case of the Spaniards, a good deal of suspicion seemed to rest upon their minds, that we wished to obtain something from them which might be used to their prejudice on their trial. This was not an insurmount-

able obstacle to overcome; for after an explanation had been given them of the sole reason which led us to address them upon religious subjects, they freely and gratefully received instruction. A perfectly sailor-looking man amongst them, who had paid deep attention to what was said, exclaimed, "He is the first person who ever cared for us."

The first Lieutenant of the pirate schooner, Mamerto Zaballa, was a Spaniard; he was low in stature, and possessed an intelligent mind. Being obliged to quit the place of his nativity for political reasons, he combated with the adversities of life, in different forms. His accumulated misfortunes did but tend to sour his mind, and harden his heart, to such a degree, that for four years he had freely entered into the commission of sin in almost all its detestable forms; and that too, without a single thought of his accountability to God. Indeed the belief of a Deity had lost its place in his mind. The impious philosophy of Epicurus, however,



found full admission there ; a philosophy which patches up man out of the four elements, and attributes his being to chance ; which confines his duration within the limits of mortality, and cries, “ Let us eat and drink to-day, for to-morrow we die.” “ He who hates the control, disrelishes the character, and dreads the inspection, judgment, and retribution, of his Maker, and intends to persevere in a course of sin, will find no refuge from anxiety and alarm, and no resource of quiet in sinning so comfortable, or in his view so safe, as the belief that there is no God.”

If his dying testimony is to be received, he had no knowledge of the schooner being a pirate when he entered on board ; nor that her commission was a false one. Poverty alone had driven him to the step which conducted him to the gallows. In a letter to his parents, written after his condemnation, he gives as a reason for embarking in a privateer, his being in St. Thomas’s without a penny to buy his bread ; and, alluding to

the capture of the Carraboo, says, " They never took any advice from me, as they knew I was always opposed to their taking any foreign vessels." The case must be a very rare one, when a man perseveres for any length of time in sin, without a fear for the future, and dies in such a hardened and impenitent state as to leave no evidence of the happiness of his soul, or his dread of the vengeance of God. Zaballa had pursued his sinful career for four years, to use his own words, " without thinking of God, but disbelieving his existence ;" yet, for the past few months, his scepticism had received considerable shocks ; he had seriously dwelt upon his situation, and had often been affected when reviewing the vileness of his life. Had he been spared, it was his firm resolve to have lived very differently. Such were his statements when a prisoner.

Ultimately, he gave the fullest evidence of repentance. His views of the doctrine of atonement became very clear. In the frequent intercourse between him and the

Ministers, he was occasionally sounded as to his belief in the peculiarities of the Roman Catholic Church, but his replies were generally such as to give satisfaction.

The following contains some account of the visits paid the prisoners by the Rev. A. Whitehouse, furnished by himself:—

“ I had from the hour of their confinement determined, as speedily as I could make such arrangements as the concerns of the Mission would permit, to devote to the pirates an uninterrupted attention.

“ Immediately on my return from a visit to a sick person in the country, on Thursday, September 11th, when I was on the point of leaving the house to endeavour to get an interview with them, I received a letter from Joseph Fleming, requesting my attendance, as he knew me in Tortola, and was a Sunday-schooler when I was stationed there in 1814 and 1815. On my arrival at the jail, I found Henessey, Holland, McNeill, Phillips, and Hanton, in one room, and the Spaniards in an adjoining one, the door of which was

open, and the prisoners unfettered. I discovered that Hanton was a German, born near Hanover.

“Fleming was a man of colour, the grandson of one, who, if my recollection as to the individual be correct, in her humble sphere ornamented her Christian calling, and died, reflecting honour on the profession she had made. He had in his hand the Book of Common-Prayer. He assured me he had been induced by the advice of two companions to join the *Las Damas Argentinas*, under the idea that she was a lawful privateer; but that too late he found himself in the company of pirates; and now wished for my help in his awful situation. He wished to make the best excuses for himself, but was soon driven from his pleas when his attention was called to the instruction which he had received in the Sunday-school: ‘My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not.’

“On turning to the other prisoners, I found Hennessey in a state bordering on distraction,—he refused instruction, not as one

despising it, but as one in despair. 'I should,' said he, 'be worse than a brute, if I were not sensible of your designs, and were not thankful ; but I can get no good.' Holland seemed absorbed in thoughts which were a trouble to him, and would have been glad could he escape them. He said nothing, but hearkened in melancholy silence to those words which Henessey rejected. Phillips, while he professed his innocency as to the charge of piracy, acknowledged himself to be a privateer's man ; and urging the example of respectable individuals, who had been engaged in that which he accounted the same honourable cause with himself, he considered his situation at least not disreputable. Hanton was apparently anxious to hear, but was very modest and retiring. There was something in his countenance, which, while it indicated concern, seemed to say, 'If I have done wrong, I had no such design ; I am a poor man beneath your notice, but your attention shall not be lost.' In his appearance there was a simpli-

city which was very pleasing, and indicated a mind, that, had it been properly directed by education, would have acted a very different part.


“On Friday the 12th, I made my second visit, carrying with me two English and four Spanish Bibles, and a like number of Testaments. Perhaps this was the first time in which the Holy Scriptures seemed in their estimation to be of any worth. They were ignorant of their contents; but report had told them they showed the way to heaven. Eternity was before them, and they were desirous of reading, that they might obtain the most important knowledge. Henessey however remarked, ‘I have often read this book; I know what it says; I have got no good; it will do me no good.’ This awakened painful feelings in my mind, which led me to urge upon them the necessity of cultivating a prayerful spirit.

“When I called the Spaniards to receive the precious treasure of which I was the bearer, they attended as persons who were

in a dream ; their surprise was very marked that any should take an interest in their welfare. When I entered their room, their amusement was at an end. Every book had a reader, and every reader a group around him ; so that those who a short time before, though in such awful circumstances, were amusing themselves in so vain a manner, were now reading or hearing the word of God. When turning down suitable passages for them, each who held a volume showed his satisfaction by looking it over ; watching at the same time when I had turned down the passages for one reader ; which being done, two or three would thrust forward their books to have the passages marked. When I went to prayer with the English prisoners, the Spaniards came into the room, and devoutly kneeled ; retiring after prayer in a manner which would have been creditable to many who bear the name of Protestant.

“ On Saturday the 13th, I first saw the Surgeon with White ; some of the prisoners whom I had seen before were now removed

to the same room with them. I endeavoured to fix their attention upon the law of God, dwelling upon its spirituality, and the awful circumstances in which it placed every child of man, from which they could not suppose they were exempted; and especially that before God their guilt was not lessened, but dreadfully aggravated, by their ignorance, inasmuch as they had neglected to embrace and improve many opportunities which had been within their reach, notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances with regard to the means of grace, under which as sailors they had doubtless been placed. The uncertainty of life, the awful possibility of being called to the bar of God before the time appointed for their trial at the bar of an earthly judge, were urged upon them as powerful motives to induce them earnestly to set about the consideration of their past ways and present state, and to offer earnest prayers for salvation. I addressed myself to the Surgeon and to Cooper, who, in reply, professed their gratitude for my kind inten-



— tions, which they should ever appreciate ; but hoped that their situation was not so dangerous as I feared, as they professed never to have joined in any act of piracy ; recommending the Captain rather to my notice as the author of all the misery and danger to which themselves and fellow-prisoners were exposed, and therefore needing my most special exertions. In speaking to Harrison, I quoted that passage in Gal. v. : ‘ Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these ; adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like ; of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God ;’ and likewise Rev. xxi. 8 : When I repeated the word ‘ drunkenness,’ he said, ‘ Then I shall never go to heaven, for I have been drunk many a time !’ I then turned to White, who had been unmoved during my conver-

sation, attentively reading the Book of Common-Prayer. He was a vain and obsequious man, and carried his vanity into his notions of religion. He needed no instruction ; had read his Bible and Prayer-Book, and could make his peace with God. He told me that for three months he had felt himself a dead man, and had been praying to God that they might be taken, that there might be an end to this villany, so far as the Las Damas Argentinas was concerned. I offered him some Tracts ; ‘I do not want them,’ said he. I requested him to oblige me by reading one of them, ‘Searle’s Appeal to the Heart.’ ‘O yes ! I will *oblige* you by reading it.’

“ Having providentially obtained a supply of Spanish tracts, I proceeded to the jail accompanied by the interpreter. The distribution of these gave great satisfaction to the Spaniards ; they called aloud their respective titles. Most of them had correct ideas of the atonement, the necessity of repentance, and faith in Christ, mixed up

with some superstitious notions. From this room I proceeded to that in which Buysan their Captain was confined. He appeared to have no idea of the possibility of his being found guilty of the charge of piracy ; and talked of the justice of the English laws, as though he would evade the object of my visit : When, however, I pressed upon him the requirements of the law of God, he became dumb ; his eyes were fixed, evidently betokening a mind ill at ease, and perhaps alarmed at the application of divine truth to his conscience. On going to prayer, during which exercise, on the jailer's suggestion, all were brought into the same room, the Surgeon, Cooper, and all the English sailors, refused to kneel. They deemed it necessary to make an apology to me, lest I should think it disrespectful ; but they were resolved never to kneel in prayer with the Captain. Blessed be God, this feeling was eventually subdued ; but they, at that time, requested me to visit them apart from him, and pray with them in their own room."

Intensely great was the anxiety of the public as the trial drew nigh. Preliminary examinations at length being completed, an "Especial Court of Grand Sessions for the Trial of Offences committed on the High Seas" was called for September the 22nd. The Court-House of St. Christopher is situated on the east side of a spacious square. At the upper end of it, a neat gallery is fixed for the Judges, five of whom sat upon this trial.

His Honour the Chairman addressed a short charge to the Grand Jury empanelled on the occasion, stating the important nature of the questions that would be submitted to them when they retired to the consideration of the indictment, which charged the prisoners with piracy. A short time did but elapse ere they returned "a true bill." The Surgeon and Henry Harrison were admitted as King's evidences. Twenty-one of the pirates, including the Captain and two Officers who were Spaniards, were escorted to the Court-House, and placed in a row before the Judges.

After being arraigned, and the indictment explained to them in Spanish by a sworn interpreter, they severally pleaded, Not Guilty.

Mr. Piguénit, admitted as Counsel for the prisoners, begged that, before the prisoners were asked how they would be tried, the suggestion that he had to offer to the Court in their behalf, might be inserted on the record,—namely, that, as aliens, they should be tried by a Jury, half of whom should be aliens. If the Court did not regard this as a motion of course, he wished to be heard in support of it.

The Hon. J. K. Wattle from the Bench stated, that the Court was disposed to admit every regular motion ; but, as a point of law, it was indisputable, that the prisoners, although aliens, having committed an offence within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, were amenable to the British law, and must be tried according to the usual course ; and that the Statute left it entirely at the option of the Court. Of what avail, then, would it

be to enter on the record the motion of the learned counsel ?

Mr. Piquenit urged the privilege of a British Barrister, in being allowed a hearing on his motion ; and could not subscribe to the principle of the Court, at once giving a dictum of law on an application, not considered as a motion of course, and in support of which he had not been heard.

Mr. Smith admitted the privilege claimed by the learned Counsel.

Mr. Piquenit (with the sanction of the Court) then proceeded. He had felt it a duty which he owed to the prisoners, as their Counsel, to claim the right ; and he now moved the Court, that the prisoners, being aliens, should be tried by a Jury composed half of foreigners. The privilege which he thus contended for in their behalf, he observed was sustained by the most respectable authorities ; and cited 3 Blackstone's Commentaries, 350 ; and 1 Chitty's C. L., 1, After some remarks, applying the principle laid down by these authorities to the case



WILLIAM OGLE, CABIN BOY.

under consideration, the learned Counsel moved that a *venire* be issued for a Jury *de medietate linguæ*.

The Solicitor-General, R. Claxton, Esq. contended, the application could not be allowed : It would be impossible at any time to obtain such a Jury in this island ; nor did the law, in a case like the present, positively require a Jury *de medietate linguæ*. In support of this position, the learned gentleman cited 2 Hawkins' P. C., 508 and 578. But, independent of the rule of the law, the purposes of justice required that these offenders should be tried, and that could not be effected but according to the circumstances of the country. The Court refused the application. On the suggestion of his Counsel, Captain Buysan was put upon his trial alone, and the others named in the indictment were remanded. When Harrison made his appearance, Buysan threw an angry glance at him, hastily curving his lips.


Mr. Smith addressed the Jury, and cited the following authorities in explanation of

the law respecting the crime of piracy :— Archbold's P. C. 410 ; Comyn's Digest, 383 ; 1 Sir Lionel Jenkins, 94—96. The learned gentleman then proceeded to comment on the evidence, and spoke at considerable length, showing that all the facts of the case—the capture of a British vessel going to the very place where the prisoner alleged he had received his commission ; a vessel of that nation which had done more for Buenos Ayres and the South American states than they had done for themselves ; the subduction of her papers ; the Captain, crew, and passengers plundered, and put in fear of their lives ; the sending of the vessel to St. Eustatius, a neutral island, in amity both with Great Britain and Buenos Ayres ; the date of the Portuguese register, which the prisoner had stated was found on board the Carraboo ; the distance at which she was taken from the port said to be under blockade, his not sending her to some port for legal adjudication, but ordering the cargo to be sold through the agency of parties resident at a place

which, from the circumstances before the Court, might be well called a nest of iniquity, and where the parties may ultimately receive the just reward of their conduct ; the alteration of the commission originally granted for twelve months only ;—all these facts so clearly proved the *animus depredandi*, and so completely brought home to the prisoner the offence with which he was charged, that it would be impossible for the Jury, on their consciences and on their oaths, to do otherwise than find him guilty of piracy.

Mr. Mardenbrough said, that the law on the subject having been clearly laid down by his learned friend, he would merely enter into a short review of the evidence ; which, he observed, had proved the prisoner at the bar to be a roaming pirate in every respect, but particularly with regard to the Carraboo. The distance from Brazil to the place where this vessel was captured, was not less than 4000 miles ; and the scheme of the prisoner at the bar was, to allege that she was from Para bound to Lisbon, in order that she might

escape, if fallen in with by a French or British man-of-war. But how could it be supposed, that a vessel from the Brazils should have bales of European goods on board, and a Consul's certificate dated in London not twenty days before? The whole scheme was hastily got up, and was a most audacious attempt to further the ends of piracy. With respect to the testimony of accomplices, the learned Counsel explained the law, and cited an authority (Phillips's Law of Evidence) on the subject. The English, he added, were not only the friends of the Brazilians and Buenos Ayreans, but were that nation to which peculiarly belongs the empire of the seas. In this case, a *bona fide* British vessel, with a cargo worth £28,000 sterling, performing a legal voyage, was captured, and quietly sent *down*, as it is termed, to certain persons at St. Eustatius—those land rats who are said to be worse than the water rats; and there was no doubt that the parties encouraging and practising such schemes on shore, are still more culpable.



and deserving of punishment than men like Captain Buysan, who periled their lives in such adventures. The learned gentleman then commented on the letters of Armstrong, and adverted to the alteration in the commission, with respect to which, he asserted, within the judgment of the Court, that any alteration in a deed amounted to a forgery. If, indeed, the prisoner's papers had been all legal, his taking out the crew of the Carraboo, despoiling her of her papers, and sending her to St. Eustatius, where there was no competent jurisdiction, would prove an act of piracy against him. The learned Counsel concluded with expressing his conviction, that in the just judgment of the Jury there could be no possibility of the prisoner's escaping the provisions of the law.

Mr. Piguenit said, that as a loyal subject of the King, beholding with the utmost abhorrence every act of piracy, he stood in no enviable situation as Counsel for the defence. In that capacity, however, he was bound to lay before the Jury any doubts which arose

in his mind as to the charge against the prisoner ; and they would determine whether those doubts were so supported, as to be of advantage to him. The unfortunate prisoner at the bar, it should be remembered, owed no allegiance to the British Crown ; the public prints had teemed with statements to his prejudice ; and he had not the benefit of one witness in his favour : But the laws of God and man forbade that any prejudice should exist against him in the situation in which he then stood ; and he trusted that the Jury would dismiss from their minds any feeling of that nature, and that if they erred, it would be on the side of mercy. The evidence in this case was to be received within the rule of law laid down for such cases. The learned Counsel for the prosecution had cited some cases from Hawkins, &c., and proceeding, as they said, according to the Common Law and not according to the Statute, the prisoner must be convicted of the offence. But if the rules of the Common Law were to prevail, the prisoner could not

be found guilty ; for it was distinctly laid down, that the felonious intention, the *animus furandi*, must be proved, or conviction could not ensue. The Commission under which the Court was sitting, directs that all offences committed at sea, should be tried like those of a similar nature committed on land, according to the common course of the law. The learned Counsel here read a part of the Commission, in support of his argument. The only evidence against the prisoner, which imputed to him a wrong intention, was that of accomplices, nay principals, whose testimony the Jury could not receive with too much caution. An individual transgressing, as the prisoner was alleged to have done, ought to be sent to his own country ; and redress, and restitution of property, demanded in the name of the King of Great Britain. The learned gentleman adverted to an authority, (Brown 119,) and went on to argue, that the Commission of a foreign Power could not be the subject of investigation in that Court. Great Britain was in

amity with the South American States, and had recognized their independence, they had thus become a people invested with all national rights. If one of their citizens transgressed their authority, he was not to be brought into that Court for punishment, but was to be turned over to his own Government, to which exclusively belonged that power. The learned Counsel then referred to Sir Lionel Jenkins's Report to the King, on a case of piracy, and drew therefrom some inferences favourable to the prisoner at the bar. He also called the attention of the Jury to the fact, that the prisoner at the bar was charged in the indictment with an act of piracy, committed on the 21st of July; that the witnesses proved that the Carraboo was taken on a Sunday in July last; and that the 21st of July was Monday. This, he contended, was a strong point in favour of the prisoner, and read an authority bearing on the question. The learned Counsel concluded a long and very ingenious defence, with observing, that, in submitting these

points, he thought the prisoner entitled to their due consideration by the Jury, on whose impartial and discreet judgment he placed every reliance.

The Solicitor-General, in reply, expressed his satisfaction that, in a case of this highly important nature, the law should have been so clearly investigated, and that the prisoner had had every advantage which it afforded him. The learned gentleman recurred to some of the authorities which had been adduced, to show that the prisoner, though a foreigner, was amenable to the jurisdiction of that Court; that it was the proper tribunal for the investigation of the charge; and that the time of the commission of the offence, as laid in the indictment, was the time according to the nautical reckoning, and that the objection on that score was immaterial. The evidence had indisputably established the fact against the prisoner; he had been proved to belong to that class of persons, justly designated *hostes humani generis*; and the Jury, however painful it may be to

† their feelings, were bound to return a verdict consonant with the principles of law and justice.

Buysan paid the strictest attention to the trial ; and he had sufficient knowledge of the English language to understand the proceedings of the Court. As the minute circumstances of the capture were narrated, he changed his position several times, his countenance at the same time strongly indicating mental disquietude. At the close of the trial, the Judge briefly charged the Jury, who then retired to deliberate upon their verdict. But a few minutes elapsed ere the opening of the door announced that the verdict was agreed upon. Silence was called ; the names of the Jurors read ; and underneath them was written, “ Who upon their oath say, they find the prisoner Guilty ! ” Buysan’s courage forsook him upon the pronouncement of this : His head dropped between his knees, and for some minutes he remained motionless. A crowd beginning to collect around him, he made an effort to resume his

fortitude ; but it was ineffectual, and he again sunk into despondency. He begged they would light him a cigar ; but not having strength to smoke it, he placed it under his foot, sighing heavily. The Court deferred passing sentence till the morning.

When he appeared again, he showed considerable firmness ; he spoke with much energy in broken English, though perfectly intelligible. He first adverted to his leaving the island of St. Thomas, on a cruise ; and stated that he was shortly after overhauled by a Danish man-of-war, who, after examining his papers, and finding them correct, allowed him to proceed. He argued he was not a pirate, from the strict order which he maintained on board his vessel, a practice unknown in piratical enterprises, where all are Captains, all Officers. He professed himself to be a regular Buenos Ayrean Privateer Captain ; and, having authority as such, he kept up the strictest discipline, maintaining it by severe punishments when the regulations of the privateer were violated ; in proof of this, he men-

tioned his having put one of his men, whose conduct had been contumacious, on board a vessel he fell in with. He always, he said, considered his commission to be a legal one ; and if it proved otherwise, it was not his fault, but Mr. Armstrong's, who had deceived him. He also spoke of the treatment which he had observed towards his prisoners, allowing the Officers of the Carraboo to come on deck daily ; and when leaving his vessel within a short distance of the shore, (for he could not venture to approach within reach of the guns,) he gave them money out of his own pocket. " Pirates," he added, " don't do that ! " He was heard with profound attention, and produced a momentary impression upon his audience. The Judge having pronounced sentence of death upon him in the usual form, he replied rather hastily, " Then I die an innocent man ! " He stepped forward to receive his handcuffs, and was conducted to his cell. In this defence there was some degree of ingenuity shown ; but the facts which were stated by the witnesses,

proved, that it was his practice indiscriminately to attack every vessel he fell in with, except the Americans and Dutch. If any were suffered to proceed, it was only because they were fortunate not to have a cargo easily convertible into money. He had on board, when taken, plate, gold watches, rings, &c., taken from the Officers of ships he had plundered.

The rest of the Spaniards who were indicted with the Captain, were then brought up. There was a pallidness in some of their countenances which did not appear the day before ; even some of them who displayed the utmost courage when first brought before the Court, had lost their daring. Perhaps the awful sentence which had just been passed upon their leader, had operated to produce this effect ; a consciousness of being equally guilty, led them to anticipate a similar fate. They were individually identified as being part of the crew when the British brig was captured, with the exception of an African, who had been taken out of a Portu-

guese vessel, and compelled to serve as cook. After the evidence had been gone through, and the verdict of Guilty was pronounced, they raised their hands to heaven, and in their native tongue loudly called upon God to have mercy upon them. Most piteously did they appeal to the Judges to spare their lives; urging a variety of reasons, which they thought would give weight to their supplications. They cast their streaming eyes upon the spectators, who stood rivetted to the spot at the sight, as if to influence them to interpose. One of them grasped the arm of a Missionary standing at one end of the box where they were confined; and, pointing to himself and to the Judges, made signs for him to intercede in his behalf. The most touching appeal was from a man of fine countenance and an athletic frame, whose jet-black hair hung upon his neck in carelessly-graceful curls; his breast heaving with the mighty conflict of his thoughts. The recollections of home seemed to rush upon his mind with an overwhelming

force ; for striking his breast and then extending his arms, he sobbingly sued for life, "*For the sake of his wife and five children !*" The deportment of the spectators was honourable to their feelings as Englishmen. Indeed, the sympathy shown to these unhappy men in St. Christopher's could not be exceeded. A just sense of their guilt and deserved punishment was admitted, but it was accompanied with pity for their situation, manifested by the exercise of every proper attention to afford them comfort in the few hours they had to live. His Honour, the Solicitor-General, moved that the Clergy and all other Ministers in the island be allowed free access to them at any time, without a pass, which was most readily granted. Sentence of death was passed the following day upon the Spaniards, when a similar scene transpired. Upon taking them out of Court, an interesting youth threw himself on his knees, earnestly begging for pardon, until taken away by the Marshal.

It now fell to the lot of the English and

Americans, with the German, to take their trial. Several facts were elicited that appeared to extenuate their guilt : More than once a conspiracy had been formed to take the vessel from the Spaniards, and run her into an English port. This they attributed to their disapproval of the piratical system which had been adopted. But it seems to be nearer the truth, that they feared the Spaniards would murder them. Buysan showed much partiality to his countrymen, and treated the rest with great severity. On board the vessel, the Spaniards always wore their long knives ; a privilege never allowed to the English. Indeed, arms were never within their reach, but when called to quarters on boarding, &c. Captain Lloyd of the Victor allowed several of his men to come forward and give testimony to the good conduct of two, who had served their country on board English men-of-war. In their demeanour, there was a striking difference when contrasted with the Spaniards. There was an absence of all symp-


toms of an hardened and indifferent feeling, but a manly effort was made by each to bear up under the afflictive circumstances in which their crimes had placed them. The defence of each was nearly the same, all declaring their entire ignorance of the ship being a pirate when they entered. Neill M'Neill stated, that he was an American ; that he laboured in St. Thomas's, as a smith, until he was taken sick ; that he was confined many weeks, when he became indebted to the person with whom he lodged thirty dollars. The importunities of this man became so great, that, M'Neill hearing of this vessel wanting men, consented to embark, to liberate himself from his embarrassments. He received thirty dollars in advance ; but his mind becoming very uneasy about that mode of life, the money was returned by him the same day. His creditor renewed his threats, but finding him rather obstinate, declared that unless he entered on board this privateer, he would put him in the fort, and ship him on board the first slave-ship that came in.

The feelings of the Court were very indignant at this disclosure. His sickness increased upon him, which confined him to his birth the whole of the cruize. This was the ground upon which he was recommended to the merciful consideration of the Representative of his Majesty. The rest were ordered for execution on the following Tuesday.

I shall again avail myself of some communications from Mr. Whitehouse, relative to his interviews with the prisoners after sentence of death had been passed :—

“ On Thursday, September 25th, early in the morning, I visited the Spanish prisoners. While I was praying with them, the interpreter interpreting sentence by sentence, many sobbed ; but when I mentioned their relatives, their cries of distress became very piercing. I gave them a short exhortation, being anxious to attend the Court, for the purpose of hearing sentence pronounced upon the Americans and English.

“ On Friday morning, I visited them as



early as I could,—attended of course by the interpreter. I found the Rev. D. G. Davies giving them suitable instruction ; which being done, after praying with them, he went to the English. Their feet being taken out of the fetters, I proceeded to speak with them individually, to ascertain their religious views and feelings. In this work I derived considerable advantage from the practice of confession among the Roman Catholics, inasmuch as they were very free in their communications with me, although it was exceedingly necessary to undeceive them as to their notions concerning the merit of auricular confession.

“Japparoni was the first to whom I addressed myself. His mind was impressed with the awfulness of his situation ; and, although he had not correct views of the Divine law, and consequently of the nature of sin, yet he knew so much of Christianity as to tell him he was not prepared to die. He heard my instructions with attention and seriousness. After turning to the one who

was handcuffed with him, he addressed himself to the interpreter, saying, after I had done with the person to whom I was then speaking, he would be glad again to say something to me. On my inquiring what he wished to say, it was to enquire, 'if God could help him to meet death with comfort.' I told him that if he received in a proper spirit the word spoken, God not only *could*, but *would*, enable him so to die. His eyes brightened with hope ; he read the Scriptures pointed out to him with an appearance of devotion, which was highly pleasing, and listened with great attention to the counsels given to his fellow-prisoners, as though he would apply to himself whatsoever might be said to another which should be suitable to his own case.*

"I next turned to Pedrol Ygnacio. He was exceedingly depressed, and wept much ; a crucifix, suspended by a string of blue

* The same observation was made by myself. In my own intercourse with the Spaniards, I frequently observed Japparoni to follow me from one to another.

beads, hung from his neck. His eternal state pressed heavily upon his spirits, and his contrition afforded me much hope. There was much in him, considering his habits and circumstances, that indicated softness of disposition. One little incident I will mention: The superstitious regard with which a crucifix is contemplated, is known to all who are in the least acquainted with the habits of Papists. With several others, he was one day conducted by a military guard for his private examination. When waiting at the door, one of the guard observed him looking upon his crucifix with considerable attention, and not without emotion. Perceiving he was noticed, he cast a look at the individual, indicative of a tender feeling, and said, ‘Mother—good!’ Had he known more of English, doubtless he would have explained his feelings more perfectly. I afterwards learned, that the crucifix was his mother’s gift.

“It was now breakfast-time. On my taking leave of them, several said they were

very faint, and requested me to procure for them a little coffee. I promised them to do what I could. Their expressions to me were such as would be improper for me to record; but they proved the speakers to be capable of gratefully appreciating the attentions shown to them in their awful state."

Several had a desire to write to their friends; but as to others the mention of this threw them into the greatest distress; and they begged, as far as our influence would go, that no information might be sent to them of their untimely death. A few extracts from their letters may be read with interest. Zaballa writes,

"MY DEAR AND AMIABLE PARENTS,

"THIS will serve you as notice of my early death, as I am sentenced to be hung to-morrow at ten o'clock. Having sailed from the port of St. Thomas, we took a British brig and a valuable cargo, which our ambitious Captain sent to St. Eustatius as a good prize. They took out a false commis-

sion, telling me it was true. Under this impression, I embarked with them, being in St. Thomas's without a penny to buy my victuals, or I should never have gone in the said privateer. They never took any advice from me, although I was the first Officer ; for they knew I was not for taking foreign vessels. * * * *

“ I consider it must have been ordained of God, so I reconcile myself as he pleases. I hope he will pardon my sins, by the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ on the cross, whose love and mercy to sinners are incomparable. Adieu, mother of my soul ! Pardon your dear son, who hopes for mercy from God.”

Japparoni writes,

“ MY MOST AMIABLE MOTHER,

“ AFTER wishing you the most perfect health in company with all my sisters, and the other part of the family, I pray that the Almighty may maintain you in his sacred

grace. My amiable mother, I am going to break your tender heart, by informing you of the unfortunate situation I am in. Tomorrow, the 27th day of the month of September, I am going to give my soul into the hands of my Creator ! I consider what pain will rend your heart, when hearing of this ; but I cannot otherwise console you, mother, than by observing, I trust in the great mercy of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, that he will pardon my sins, having repented, and that I shall participate his most sacred glory. The sins and offences I have done to my Redeemer bring this death, which I will receive with resignation. * * * * *

“ I beg pardon of all, and pardon those who have offended me ; receiving your blessing. Pray for the soul of your dear son, which rests in peace.

“ JOSE JAPPARONI.

“ Done in the island of St. Christopher’s, one of the small colonies to leeward, 26th of September, eve before my death.”

The singularity of another letter induces me to give it :—

“MY MOST ESTEEMED AND DEAR MOTHER
OF MY HEART,

“God grant that these my last words which I write may find you in good estate of health, in company with the rest of the family ; I here give you to know, that your two dear sons, Thomas and Franquitos, are dead of natural death, and I unfortunately am to be raised from the ground in the island of St. Christopher. I beg all the family to say, the Our Father, and a prayer to the Virgin Mary.”

The prisoners who were appointed for execution the first day being separated, they principally engrossed our attention. The guard for the ensuing night, the last which they had to spend on earth, had already been fixed around the prison. We again entered on our work of instruction and prayer, just before the close of day. The evening was calm and serene ; a gentle

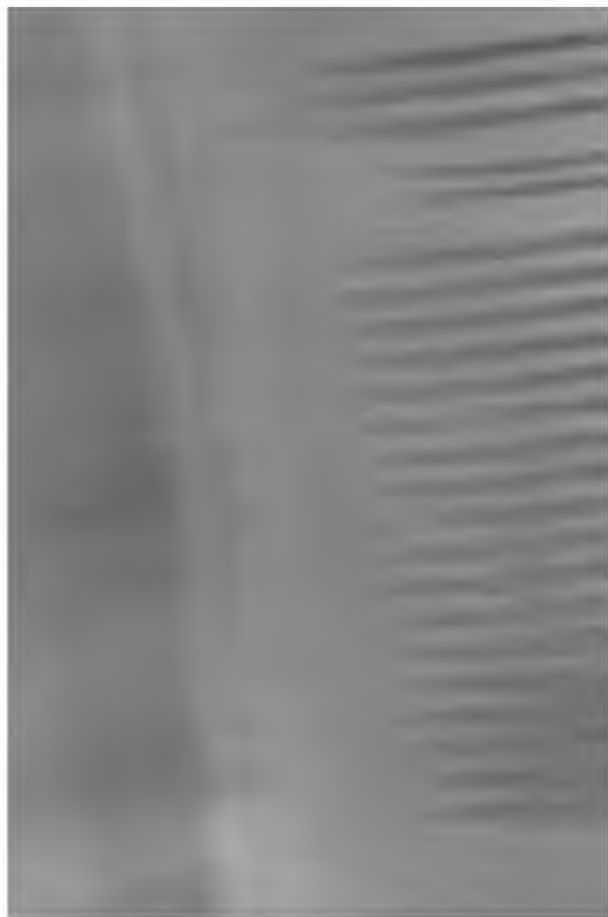
breeze passed through the iron gratings of the windows, mingling its solemn and murmuring tones with the sighs of the sufferers : It was a welcome relief after a day passed under the angry violence of the solar rays. The tops of the bayonets of the guard glistening under the windows, forbade all hope of escape. A short pause ensued, when it was proposed, that the Captain, who understood English sufficient to interpret a prayer into Spanish, should repeat in that language after one of the four Ministers present, to which he very cheerfully gave his consent. It was a scene of peculiar interest ; they knelt down with seriousness, the leader in their crimes dictating to them the sentences as they dropped slowly and solemnly from the Minister's lips. The assembling of so many together in their cell, created a suspicion that the hour of their death was come. When we rose from our knees, their countenances bespoke what was passing in their minds ; a few words were exchanged amongst themselves, when one, who was master of a little English, ap-

proached one of the Missionaries, and, with a maniac's terror, drawing his fore-finger across his neck, inquired, "Kill now?" A shake of the head conveyed the answer. He then wished to ascertain if they were to stay in the cell all night: Being assured of this, he appeared satisfied. They paced their cell for a few minutes, when their allowance of bread, &c., being served out, their minds again returned to the important concerns of eternity. Fearful of giving pain to those who had so unremittingly attended them, they asked if it would be agreeable for them to go through some prayers which they knew, and which are familiar to the Roman Catholics. It would have been cruelty to have questioned the propriety of it in their case, who had so short a time to live. We assured them they were perfectly at liberty to go through whatever ceremonies they thought would convey comfort to their minds. After being engaged about twenty minutes in prayer, they commenced chanting; part of this service

was particularly affecting. When calling upon God to help them, and to deliver them from evil, the melody of their tones was drowned by their overflowing hearts giving vent to their feelings in loud grief. Their companions in sin and condemnation, who were to suffer on the morning following, and whose cell was at the other end of the jail, took up the same exercise ; the place rung with their supplications for mercy. It was needful to allow them time, they were so exhausted, before we could again enter into conversation.

We were kindly allowed by the Court to remain in the cell with them the whole night, if it were thought necessary. They were again individually spoken to, and, with one exception, gave evidence of their penitence, and their reliance for redemption upon the blood of the Lamb: This was Baptista Moll. From the commencement, his unsatisfactory answers and carelessness always left a very painful impression upon those who spoke to him. Though his con-

duct was always marked with respect, yet those expressions of penitence were wanting which flowed spontaneously from most of the rest. The day before he died, he was heard profanely jesting about what would take place on the morrow. With mingled emotions one of the Missionaries selected him particularly to speak to, and, with the Captain for his interpreter, gave him a very plain and very faithful explanation of the Third of St. John. Never before did he display such seriousness of demeanour. He gazed intently upon the Captain as he translated the Missionary's address, and felt so much interested, that when the conversation was given up, he declared his willingness to "sit and hear of such things the whole night." The very few hours he had to live were dwelt upon, if possible, to arouse his anxiety to prepare for that eternity into which he would soon be plunged. He was shown that, though he might think of meeting death without a fear, he could not meet his God without dread, if he died impeni-




tent ; and, notwithstanding his crimes, there was hope left to him, if he would embrace it. How pitiable the case of that man who

To the mercies of a moment leaves
The vast concerns of an eternal scene !

We did not quit Baptista before we had hope of his being impressed with the truth proclaimed in his hearing. This was considerably strengthened by the obvious alteration in his appearance the following morning. When we entered the room, he was engaged in prayer, the tears running profusely down his weather-beaten cheeks.

Zaballa, when spoken to, said the recollection of his sins burned as a fire in his breast. Indeed, the pitiable glance which he gave, when uttering these words, conveyed more meaning than his very expressive sentence. His experience was a lively comment of David's description of the anguish of his soul :—" The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell gat hold upon me : I found trouble and sorrow."



(Psalm cxvi. 3.) He stated, that it was not only the more prominent sins of his life that now gave him pain; but the vivid recollection of secret crimes, known to none but God and himself. A most affectionate exhortation was given him, grounded on the compassion of Christ; and his readiness to forgive. I gazed at the little group while this was delivered, and felt in my own mind the adaptation of what was said to his case. Nor was the penitent mind of Zaballa less intensely fixed upon it. His countenance of anxiety relaxed into a placid smile: He seemed to lay hold on the atonement of the Redeemer. Such was the pleasing alteration that had taken place in his mind, that when asked, just before we quitted the cell, how he then felt, his answer was, "Tranquil now." He enquired if it would be wrong for him to take a little food, as he had been fasting all day to prepare himself better for his awful fate; and he now felt very faint. Such a spontaneous act of self-denial, unobserved, could not fail to in-

crease the pleasing hope we had of him. It was now eleven o'clock. After speaking to them of the holy communion, which they had requested might be administered to them very early in the morning, we were let out by the Captain of the guard, and left them that they might obtain, if possible, a little sleep.

Yes, to sleep ! For e'en the wretched sink to *sleep*,
Though not to *rest* ! Dark dreams of fearful gloom
Rise to such slumberers ;
Which seem like preludes of approaching doom.

We passed along the quiet streets of Basse-terre with melancholy and heavy minds. The prison doors had just closed upon eleven of our fellow-beings, all in the bloom of life,—to be on the morrow launched into eternity !

Having rested a few hours, at dawn of day we were allowed admittance to the cell. The Captain was engaged in prayer, and the rest were calmly waiting our arrival. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to them, and they exhibited every sign of penitence. Buysan's angry feelings

against the Surgeon had been too strong to be concealed. The day he was condemned, when speaking of him, he consoled himself with the idea, that, if he escaped punishment in this world, he hoped he would not in the world to come. Such a spirit was highly unbecoming a man in his situation ; and when remonstrated with, he readily confessed its sinfulness ; nor was he heard afterward to utter a sentence indicative of malice. He requested an interview with him before he died, to assure him he left the world in perfect charity. This took place a few minutes before he was led out for execution. His address was nearly in the following words :—" Doctor, I am going to die : I wished to see you, to say, that whatever you may have done against me, I forgive ; and I pray God to forgive you. And whatever I have done against you, I hope you will pardon !" He was much affected at the time : The Surgeon turned deadly pale, but spoke not a word. The men also took leave of him in a similar way. Poor fellows ! after saying, Farewell,

they hastily rushed into a corner of the cell to give vent to their feelings. The process of binding their arms being over, the executioner came in with ropes to fasten round their necks. He was a Negro who had been saved from the gallows, and performed his task with a brutal moroseness ; flinging them upon the floor. The Captain was the first he commenced with. It was not until the rope was put round his neck, that he betrayed very much emotion. His hands were placed across each other, and his eyes closed. The swarthy colour of his face gave place to a paler hue : His lips were blue and quivering. It was an awful moment ! As the rope was drawn close to his neck, he gave a slight shudder, and sighed heavily. In other instances, the men, while engaged in prayer, assisted in adjusting the rope themselves. They then knelt down in the form of a crescent, Buysan in the centre, and repeated a variety of prayers with great earnestness.

In front of the jail the militia were drawn up to receive them. A signal being made,

the large gun on board the schooner, in which their crimes had been perpetrated, began firing ; and continued to do so every minute, till they reached the head of the bay, at the east end of the town, where the gallows was erected. The Captain, the two Lieutenants, and three men, were accompanied, in the first cart, by the Rev. D. G. Davies and Brother Whitehouse ; and the five others in the second, by the Rev. Mr. Clinkett and myself. The infantry were divided into two bodies, occupying the advance and the rear : The light cavalry surrounded the carts. The whole time the men were devoutly engaged in prayer ; nor was their attention at all diverted till they came within sight of the fatal spot ; when they gazed with increased agitation at the place where their earthly career was to end. The *Las Damas Argentinas* was anchored close in the shore, the British flag flying at the peak over a red one. The *Victor* was opposite, as near in as she could be brought with safety. The merchant-vessels also in the harbour hoist-

ed their flags. A guard of marines, with an Officer in the boat, took their station in front of the gallows. Without any assistance the prisoners ascended the scaffold. Several, when standing there, loudly called upon the immense multitude for pardon ; assuring the by-standers of their hope in God's mercy for forgiveness. When the last two or three were brought under the fatal beam, nothing was to be heard but the prayers of the pirates,—so hushed was the multitude. As the last rope was adjusted, the first Lieutenant loudly called upon the name of the Deity, and sprang with great violence from the plank ! Some confusion ensued ; but the ropes being cut which sustained the platform, they were ushered into the presence of their Maker. A deathly silence now reigned. Every eye was fixed upon the struggles of the dying men : Not a sound reached the ear but that of the surf beating violently upon the beach. The body of the Captain was put into a rough shroud, but the rest were thrown into a

large trench dug under the gallows. Such are the wages of sin! “O that *men* were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!” With their eternal destiny we have done. They sought for pardon with penitent and broken hearts ;—this is our ground of hope.

On leaving the place, it was a heart-sickening thought, that only one portion of them had paid the forfeit the public laws demanded : There still remained seventeen, who, in a few hours, must suffer the same fate. On the Monday following, ten more were executed, concerning whom Mr. Whitehouse wrote to me, prefacing his observations respecting these, with some account of the Captain and the rest who first suffered :—

“One thing I cannot but remark ;—their great tractableness, and the simplicity with which they acted upon the instruction afforded : Nor is the condescension with which a gracious God regarded that simplicity in the actings of their faith, less worthy of notice. It is very probable, they never had

an opportunity of hearing the doctrines of Christianity, unmixed with human inventions, until now. In many respects these had supplanted important truths; and while there were some non-essential errors which we suffered to pass, we had to guard them against others which were manifestly injurious. These they had been taught to consider as sacred; but a reference to the Scriptures, which they were directed to read for themselves, was authority to which they submitted. One case in point I will here notice: While the Rector was conversing with Buysan, a sentence dropped from him which showed that his hope rested upon purgatory. He was referred to Matthew xxv. 46: 'And these shall go away into everlasting punishment.'—'Ah!' said he, 'this is what The Book says; the other, what the Friars say.' I was frequently much affected with the warmth of their gratitude, but most in their parting moments. Buysan had ascended the scaffold before the party with whom you rode arrived at the place of execution. As he placed

one foot upon the steps, he paused as though he had forgot something: looking round, he said, 'I want my own Padre,'—or Priest. His eye caught mine: Taking hold of my hand, he kissed it affectionately, and said, 'Adios!'—Adieu. Japparoni, Zaballa, and others, not only kissed Mr. Davies's and my hands, but stooped down to kiss our feet. We withdrew them; but they kissed the earth on which we trod.

"Sunday, the 28th, I devoted entirely to the rest of the prisoners, who by no means afforded me the same satisfaction as the others. They were less alive to their awful situation, and less desirous of help. Notwithstanding unfavourable appearances, we had hope. The Rector entertained hope of all but one. When I called Manuel Gonzales to the table where I was sitting, he muttered something expressive of dissatisfaction. It became necessary to address him in the strongest language, and, by the most serious considerations, to implore him to lend an ear to the things which should be spoken.

I treated upon the nature of the law of God which he had broken ; the awfulness of its sanctions ; the impossibility of escaping his doom ; and thereon founded an earnest exhortation for him to fly to Christ. The other, Antonio Rodriguez, seemed hardened, but not sullen ; rather disposed to receive in good part our attentions and those of the Clergy as good-natured civilities, but regarded them no farther. He smiled once or twice from levity, while I spoke to him. I never felt more compassion for immortal spirits on the brink of the grave. God gave me strong words : The interpreter caught the fire ; and the culprits were affected. I then dismissed them with prayer.

“ Condelarío Espinoas had been hearkening with attention to the things which were spoken ; and the Holy Spirit had applied them with power. On my addressing myself to him, he appeared to feel very sensibly his lost condition. ‘ My sins,’ said he, ‘ come against me as a squadron ;’ and he declared that God would be just, were he to

doom him to the fire of hell.—In Manuel Cordero there was a natural tenderness and simplicity of manner, which showed, like Pedrol Ygnacios, that many a mighty struggle had taken place in his breast, before he yielded himself up to the work of violence for which he was condemned. He was much depressed, was frequently in tears, and heard us with attention. In the perusal of the Scriptures and tracts he was very diligent. Manuel wrote his name in the Bible. It seemed a gratification to him to have one that he called his own. If at any time it lay unused, he put it into his bundle, that it might be safe from injury.—Jose Martins was a Frenchman. A gloom rested upon his countenance, and he was exceedingly ignorant. While I was describing to him the case of a sinner, and exhorted him to seek unto God by Jesus Christ, his lips quivered, his eye filled, and the starting tear told the labourings of his heart. He could not read. The Rev. J. K. Hyde sent me down from Nevis two French Testaments and ‘Dod-

dridge's Rise and Progress ;' and a friend lent me a French Bible. A young gentleman, recently brought to God, read to him both from the French Scriptures and the work just named ; making observations as he went along. He thought, that, notwithstanding Jesus Christ had died, still there must be something of a redeeming property in our works. By little and little he was led to give up his 'refuges of lies.' When he heard of the faithfulness and justice of God to forgive sin, from 1 John i., he joyfully received the word, and resolved to seek the blessing. On the whole, considering their state when I commenced with them in the morning, I left the jail at three o'clock, with my hopes considerably raised.

"About five I returned to them again. But, O what a change ! Cooper, the American, had wrought himself to a state of desperation, and the jailer had judged it necessary to put his feet in irons. The feelings of the Spaniards were also roused at two being admitted King's evidence ; so that they who

had been as guilty as themselves, would live, while they must die. This they thought was unjust. The Rev. Mr. Davies was labouring to convince them, that it was their interest to leave this question, and apply themselves to that duty of all others the most important to them. I continued with them until eleven o'clock at night.

“Early the next morning, we met again. Some time was spent in preparatory exercises, when the Lord's Supper was administered at their own request.”

They met their end with firmness, but by no means afforded the same degree of hope in their death as the party which preceded them. As to the English, who were now left alone, they received the religious attentions paid them very devoutly. Though at times they were subject to those conflicting feelings common to men in their awful condition; yet, generally speaking, they maintained the highest regard for sacred exercises, and were thankful that they were favoured with them. Fleming wrote to his

mother, a few hours before he died, as follows:—

“ *Basseterre Prison, Sept. 29, 1828.*

“ MY DEAR MOTHER,

“ I AM about to yield up my life as a sacrifice to the violated laws of my country.

“ To-morrow, I shall expiate, in an ignominious manner, a crime for which I am condemned ; but a crime into which I was hurried by circumstances not to be avoided. I will not distress you with a long letter, my principal motive being to request you to keep such a watchful eye over the lives of my brothers and sisters, as will prevent them falling into sinful company, and thereby prevent a like unfortunate occurrence to them. Let me beg of you to take the same care of my two children as you have of me. And, O ! never let them know their father’s disgraceful end. I die an innocent man, and for the crimes of others ; but as it is, I die cheerfully, and in a full reliance on the clemency of God, and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

“Farewell ! And may the blessings of God
be with you, as I hope they may be with
“Your affectionate, but unfortunate son,
“JOSEPH FLEMING.”

Phillips's disposition to defend his mode of life appeared entirely to forsake him when his doom was fixed. At times, he was almost driven frantic by the fate which hung over him. Amidst all this, there were many pleasing proofs of his penitence, and the earnest struggles of his soul for mercy. Eagerly did he receive the message of salvation, listening with evident pleasure to the promises which adorn the pages of Holy Writ. I observed him, when his sentence was passed, carefully preserve a tract in the crown of his hat, as he rose to be conducted again to prison. He was in the bloom of life, and had a constitution likely to have exceeded the common limits of human existence, had he not been prematurely cut down by the arm of justice.

It will doubtless be very acceptable to

the reader, to see the testimony of a Moravian Missionary, relative to the spiritual welfare of one who was amongst the last criminals who suffered :—

“ DEAR BROTHER,

“ ACCORDING to your wish and my promise, I have noted down a few remarks relating to the unfortunate prisoner whom we visited in the jail ; but beg leave to confine myself merely to William Hanton, a countryman of mine, with whom I had more conversation than with any of the others. The first time I saw him, which was a few days before his trial came on, he appeared to me to be under a deep conviction of his sins committed in this world. He told me he was born at Hamburgh, where he was baptized in the Danish Lutheran Church, to which his parents belonged ; that he had left his mother eight years since, when he, as a ship’s carpenter, had visited several parts of the world, and of late came from America to St. Thomas’s, where he took ser-

vice in the privateer schooner, *Las Damas Argentinas*, not knowing then she was a pirate ; but was sorry he had ever entered. I told him, that, in his present situation, he could do nothing better than to spend his time in fervent prayer to the Lord our Saviour, to implore pardon and forgiveness of Him whom he had offended by his sins and transgressions. The next time I saw him, after his trial, being also found guilty and condemned, he seemed to be aware of the awful situation he was placed in, and said, 'I know I am a sinner, and deserve the punishment I shall have to suffer.' I directed him to the Saviour of the world, who, as the Lamb of God, suffered death on the cross for his sins, and who certainly would show mercy to him, if he, as a repenting sinner, turned to him with all his heart. He then spoke confidently to me, and desired me to come next Sunday to him, as he wished very much to have a conversation alone with me. Accordingly, I went on that day to him. Leave was granted him to go with me alone

into a separate room, when he with many tears confessed a certain sin once committed at home. Though he had not injured any one by this, yet he knew he had offended God, and, according to his word, deserved death : Therefore he could not die happy before he had mentioned this, and hoped the Lord would forgive him his sins. I reminded him of the dying thief on the cross, how the Lord showed mercy to him, even in his last hour of life ; and that he need not be in doubt of the mercy of the Lord, but only believe in the Lord Jesus, and his poor soul would be saved. Having prayed with him and the rest, I left them, and visited the jail again the next day. Hanton now said to me, ‘ I feel now so happy in my mind, having disclosed to you what oppressed me ; it is as if a burden had been taken from me. I can also believe that the Lord Jesus will have mercy upon me, and forgive me all my sins.’ The day of his execution, he said to me in the morning as I came to him, ‘ I am happy to see you ; I have still one thing I

must mention to you : I was not born at Hamburgh, neither is my name William Hanton ; I only went in that name. I was born in Norway ; but it is not needful that you should mention my proper name. I should not wish that my relations should ever hear how it went with me ; it would only cause them grief and uneasiness. I die happy, and believe it was the Lord's direction that I should be brought to this island to suffer for my sins, that my poor soul might be saved. I am now prepared to die, hoping and believing the Lord will have mercy upon my soul.' He then thanked me for the kindness I had shown him in visiting him in the place ; and I assured him of my remembering him in my prayers before a throne of grace, hoping to meet with him in a better world.

" Thus, my dear brother, I have simply related to you the conversation I had with the poor criminal, and certainly hope and believe that he left this world as a repenting and pardoned sinner. As to the rest of the

prisoners, I think you and your brethren have obtained more information relating to their spiritual state than I am able to give. I believe that many of them died repenting sinners.

“ I remain, dear Brother,

“ Your’s truly,

“ JOHN JOHANSON.”

Upon this subject, too, I have been kindly allowed to make the following extracts from the journal of my esteemed friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Hyde of Nevis, whose duties led him to St. Kitt’s at this period :—

“ I could not have visited St. Kitt’s at a more distressing time. I found the island under arms, a vessel of war at anchor in the roads, the gallows erected on the bay-side, &c. When we drew near the shore, a guard of soldiers came down to the water-side, and satisfied themselves as to who I was, and the nature of my business ; all this was occasioned by the condemnation of a number

of pirates. On Saturday eleven were executed, and on Monday, the day of my arrival, ten more. They were Spaniards, and I learned with much satisfaction, both from the Clergy and the Missionaries who visited them, that although they were by profession Roman Catholics, they received with much thankfulness their endeavours to prepare them for the sad death to which their crimes had brought them. These Protestant Ministers allowed them to go through their own prayers when they pleased in the Spanish tongue, without any interruption; and at other times they directed their attention to the Saviour of the world, through the medium of an interpreter. The brethren Whitehouse and Wood believe, there was well-grounded hope in the death of most of them.

“ In the afternoon of Monday I went to the jail with Brother Whitehouse, labouring under the influence of a conflict between my inclinations and my feelings. I had a wish to see the Englishmen who were to be executed on the morrow, and yet I shudder

ed at the idea of seven or eight men being in such a situation. As we drew near to the prison, which was surrounded by a company of soldiers of the island militia, I was agreeably surprised to hear a number of voices singing a hymn, accompanied by one or more flutes. I asked Brother Whitehouse who they were, and he told me a part of the guard in the guard-house. This little incident pleased me much, and I could not help thinking that the effect on the minds of the prisoners must have been a profitable one. After the impediments of locks, bolts, and bars had been removed, I found myself in a room with eight of the prisoners, five of whom had not been tried, because they were not on board the pirate vessel when she took the Carraboo. Two had been pardoned because of their youth, and the other had been sentenced to die. I prayed and conversed with them, and all were most respectful in their deportment, and attentive to those religious exercises to which I had invited them. One of the youths, a native of

Scotland, and of most respectable connexions, I admonished much. The other prisoners at this visit I only saw through one of the holes cut in the door. They were seated on the floor, reading tracts and smoking cigars ; they were fine looking sailors, and surprised me much by their apparent ease, with but a few hours' life before them. I was told, however, it was not the effect of indifference, but of a resigned state of mind, produced by the supports and consolations of religion. He who was under sentence of death in the cell where I stayed, gave Brother Whitehouse a petition to the Commander-in-chief. Mr. W. took it to him without loss of time, and I accompanied him. His Honour, we had the pleasure to find, from some mitigating circumstances in his case, had resolved to spare his life. It was glad tidings to the poor fellow. 'I feel,' said he, 'I know not how I feel ! But I seem as if I was in another world !'

" In the evening I again visited the jail with my esteemed Brother. It was an aw-

ful night of lightning, thunder, and rain. The guard round the prison seemed additionally watchful, for they stopped us more than once ; but on discovering us seemed to say, ' Go in peace.' Those who were in the guard-house were engaged as before. The Rector of the parish and another Clergyman were just preparing to quit the jail as we entered it. Mutual salutations passed, and I soon found myself alone with one of the prisoners in his cell. His name was Cooper ; he was an American, and had held the office of Lieutenant on board the schooner. He had neither handcuff nor chain about him. A sort of deterring sullenness sat on his countenance, and it was impossible to divest the mind of an idea that he had been very desperate in his horrid trade. The cell was dark and dreary enough, except in that part where a small candle shed its sickly light over the place where the prisoner's last and almost, if not altogether, untouched dinner was set, and which the cockroaches were greedily devouring. The

lightning every now and then gleamed through the iron bars of a window, the shutters of which were not fully closed, and peals of rolling thunder gave additional melancholy to the occasion. After several expressions of sympathy, and some explanation of my object in visiting him, which seemed to be acceptable, we sat down together ; I begged him to have confidence in me, and open to me the state of his mind, as to his views of religion. This he did, and all he said may be summed up in the following words :—‘ I believe that there is a God, and that he is good and merciful. I believe that there is another world. And although I do not know that I ever did any thing particularly bad, yet I am no doubt a sinner before God ; but I think he will forgive me. I cannot say that he has done it ; but I trust and think he will.’ I named the Lord Jesus to him, and spoke of the atonement, but it did not appear to have been any part of his creed for a length of time, and he hesitated to admit it ; but it

was clear his mind was not at ease about it. He, however, gave me an attentive hearing, while I gave him my views of the necessity of an atonement, and the sufficiency of that which had been provided in the Son of God. He nodded assent frequently, and in the end said, 'Well, I will endeavour to look to God through Jesus Christ.' This was said with a cheerfulness that afforded some hope, and I immediately proposed prayer. To this he agreed, and I had freedom in prayer for him ; but his mind sunk back again, and he remained distressed, and most gloomy in appearance.

"Shortly afterwards, Brother Whitehouse and I exchanged rooms, and I was now with the other six men who were to be executed with Cooper in the morning. The contrast was very great ; religion had done much for them ; so much, that they even thanked God for their present situation. 'We know,' said one, 'that it is a disgraceful one, and we do not wish our friends to know the end we have brought ourselves to by our sins ;

but still we are thankful that we were taken and brought here, where, through the kind attentions of the Ministers of religion, we have been prepared to die. When we went on board the *Las Damas Argentinas*, we did not know that she was a pirate vessel, but were told that she was a regularly commissioned privateer; and when we found she was not, we were miserable. More than once did we consult together to rise upon the Spaniards, and take possession of the vessel; but they suspected us, and always eyed us with jealousy. At night they slept with their knives, &c., by their side, and from their suspicion of us and our feelings we were constantly looking for an awful death, without any religious advantages whatever. We were therefore wretched. Now, we know what awaits us. Thank God, our hands are *now* clear of blood, whatever may have been our other sins; but they would not long have remained so, perhaps, had we not been detected. We have lived in sad neglect of God, and may ascribe most of

our sins, and our present condition, to drunkenness.* But with God there is mercy ; and we do believe, that as we repent he will forgive, nay has forgiven us, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ.' I spent some time profitably with them ; and just before we left their cell for the night, at Brother Whitehouse's suggestion, the jailer brought Cooper to see them. He was much dejected, but they exhorted him to trust in God through Jesus Christ. It was affecting to see how they shook hands, and to hear Cooper say, in a tone of peculiar melancholy, ' So, this is the last night we have to live ! ' He was told he might remain in the cell with them for the night, if he pleased ; but he preferred solitude, and went back to his own room. We took our leave of them for the night ; and, early in the morning, the Rector

* White, in a letter to one of the Missionaries, says, " I hope that you will warn your flock against drunkenness, for an extra glass of spirits has brought me unto this ignominious death, and I am to be hanged like a murderer."

and Brother Whitehouse were with them again.

“At length the sad hour arrived. I was in Cooper’s cell, walking up and down in it with him, when the jailer threw open the door, and the hangman rushed in with the fatal rope. My heart seemed to turn over ; Cooper stopped suddenly, and gazing upon the instrument of his death, and him who bore it, exclaimed, as if the event seemed incredible, ‘What ! have you come to tie me with that thing ?’ I was so affected, that I walked out of his cell into the one which contained the other six. They were all standing up pinioned, with each his halter round his neck, and the coil of the other end of it in his hand. There was the firmness of the sailor, and the resignation of the penitent ; but at the same time there was an indescribable whiteness of countenance, and the starting tear ! They shook hands with me, expressed their thankfulness for the attentions shown them, and one of them said with much energy, ‘Your work is great and good ; take care

always to do your duty.' They were now ordered out, and the awful procession moved off. At the place of execution, we prayed and sang a hymn with them. With the exception of Cooper, they were all resigned to their fate. They kneeled down upon the beach, but he branched off, and walked in a state of frenzy towards the sea, exclaiming, 'You are going to murder me! I am a murdered man!' I thought he was going to rush into the sea, and went to him, endeavouring to calm him, and to get him to the praying circle, with which he complied; but when this was over, while the other prisoners went forth to meet their end in the spirit of prayer, he broke out again, in cries of, 'You are going to murder me!' When his rope was thrown over the beam, he pulled it down again, and put so many obstacles in the way, that the savage-looking hangman got into a rage, began a scuffle with him, and at length swore at him. I was much shocked at this. The other poor men offered no resistance, but continued praying in

the most fervent manner until the scaffold fell."

The statement of innocency made by several of them may seem incongruous with their professed penitence. I think it may be accounted for, partly from their ignorance of the British law, which makes accomplices in piracy, principals, and treats them as such; and partly that they knew not the real character of the vessel when they entered on board. They associated themselves, however, with the depredations that the majority entered into, and soon lost what little sensibility or honest intentions they once had, heartily joining in transactions, and sharing in their spoils, which but a few months before their minds would have shrunk from with horror. Nothing gave me greater surprise than the tenacity with which Cooper clung to his innocence. He was old in crime. It would answer no good purpose minutely to record instances illustrative of this; but it is more as a warning to others that this particular allusion is made to him. Long

may sin throw the veil of secrecy around her movements; but there is "an eye, whose brightness no shadow can dim," that follows its windings, and that can bring it to shame and confusion. Early in life, Cooper found his way to the East Indies, where he forgot his European habits, and adopted those of the Malays. The Coran was frequently his subject of conversation in prison, where he avowed himself a disciple of Mahomet. This was the reason why he demurred to the exhortation of Mr. Hyde to trust in the Lord Jesus Christ. In his tide of prosperity he had a vessel of war under his command, and, committing acts of piracy on British property, he was taken, and stood his trial at the Old Bailey for the same crime which ultimately brought him to the gallows. He had the good fortune to escape, but did not profit much by it. His countenance had a very stern aspect. Scarcely any thing altered the expression of his eye, which was sullen and determined to the extreme.

Thus terminated a scene, which, for its

tragic incidents, finds no parallel in the annals of St. Christopher's. The mind shudders at the retrospect of so many human beings meeting a death so untimely. But the stern voice of justice, for past violations of her sacred rights, loudly called for retribution, and her iron hand fell heavily, but deservedly.

The perusal of the whole displays the finger of Divine Providence. It was by an apparent accident that the twenty-one men in the Carraboo's jolly-boat were discovered from the town of Lanzasote. The course which Buysan steered to make St. Eustatius was not the same as that generally taken; before he reached it, he several times put the vessel upon a different tack without being able to assign any definite reason for it. When Captain Lloyd undertook the task of investigating the matter concerning the Carraboo, the Victor was becalmed many hours between Saba and St. Eustatius, and on her passage up, the Las Damas Argentinas literally ran within range of her

guns, and in a few hours became her legal prize. Surely these close-connected events could not have occurred by *chance*.

“Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished.” Let youth remember this;—let them guard against that roving and unsettled disposition which proved fatal to several of the unhappy men whose sad history has been narrated; who, had they followed with diligence the lawful occupations and professions in which they had been placed, would now have been still living respectably. The account also shows how closely connected one sin is with another, and how downward is the course of evil. Several of the prisoners would not have entered upon the practice of privateering, had they not been reduced to pecuniary straits by their dissipation; for granting that they engaged with Buysan, not knowing his piratical habits, and regarding him as having a privateer’s commission, there are few men who do not rank privateering next to piracy in guilt, and shrink

from so disgraceful a service. But the want of money, which their sensual gratifications had brought upon them, induced them to listen to the offer, and they finished a life of violence by a shameful death. All proves that "*the way of the wicked is as darkness, that they know not at what they stumble!*" One unexpected event brings on another; the effect of one crime is to entangle the guilty with temptations to others, which are difficult to escape, and to comply with which they are pushed on by circumstances with which they have surrounded themselves, and over which they have then no control. Let all then learn to shun the appearances of evil, and let them write it upon their hearts, that only "*the ways of wisdom,*" that is, of true piety, "*are ways of pleasantness, and her paths paths of peace!*"

AN ADDRESS
TO
PRISONERS AND CAPTIVES.

BY THE LATE REV. CHARLES PERRONET.

PRISONERS of all men are most miserable ; out of sight and out of mind. The poorest have some to behold their wants, and tell their distress : But, shut up in dungeons, they are forsaken of all.

And who amongst us obeys the command, —visits the sick and in prison ? Who leaves not Christ in his suffering members, hungry, and thirsty ? Where are the professors of religion that deny themselves for Jesus ? that feed on fragments, clothe in mean apparel, and endure hardship, to release the prisoner, or to give to him that needeth ? “ Inasmuch as ye did it to these my brethren, ye did it unto me.”

Suffering men—accept the voice of sympathy, and let a tear be mingled with your own. If I cannot release you, suffer me to offer comfort. If I have nothing else to give, yet receive instruction from my mouth.

I mourn over the fears and distress of prisoners. One is shut up for debts he cannot pay ; another fast bound in irons, and to appear before the judge. Soon may the light of this world go for ever, with all that is dear to him !

There is a prison beyond the grave ; a tribunal for quick and dead ; a Judge that knows the secrets of all hearts, and none can deliver out of his hand. There condemnation is eternal. There the prison-doors are shut for ever.

Your debt may be large ; the hands you are in merciless, their hearts inexorable.


The debt we owe to God is greater ; justice requires the last mite ; and the sentence is—"Thou shalt in no wise come out till thou hast paid the last mite."

I know the thoughts of your heart ; your

tears and cries ; you want life ; you would fain be set at liberty. But what is life without the fear of the Lord ? Length of days would but increase sin. Release, prosperity, all below pass away ; and we shall receive according to what we have done.

The jail within the heart is the deepest dungeon,—its darkness, the thickest darkness. The chains are sinful desires ; the prison-walls, unbelief ; the iron grate, “hardness of heart, and contempt of God’s word and commandment.” The bondage is the corruption of nature ; a thousand wilful offences bind us down, and ten thousand calls cannot persuade us to accept deliverance.

How often has God warned, and we would not hear !—his Spirit strove, and we did not yield ! How have the golden sands of time been running out, while we were sinning on ! We have “walked in the counsel of the ungodly ;” scorned the righteous, and betrayed others into the paths of vice ;—broken the divine law, despised threatenings, and abused mercy.



Past actions now stare you in the face. Sin appears unpardonable, ruin unavoidable, and your burden too heavy to bear. Ignorant of God's word, you have no hope; no knowledge of "the things that make for your peace;" no conception how one so lost can be restored.

And can you endure anguish of spirit, and not seek deliverance? Can you bear the pains of hell, and not cry out, "What must I do to be saved?" Shall death stare you in the face, and you not repent? judgment overtake you, and not make you afraid? Shall the Almighty call, and you will not answer? Shall Christ descend, and bleed, and die, and is it nothing to you,—nothing that he "came to seek and to save,"—nothing that he offers mercy after all you have done? His "Spirit will not always strive with man." If you refuse now, he may never again. If you reject him to the last, "he will cast you off for ever."

There is hope. "Redemption draws nigh." Light breaks forth out of darkness.

Mercy descends to the lowest deep. "Have ye not known, have ye not heard, hath it not been told you from the beginning, that the Lord is long-suffering, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance?" "Let us reason together," saith the Lord; "though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow."

"Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy! The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin."

Lo, the Judge becomes our advocate! He pays the mighty debt, and sets us free! He reconciles us to God, and brings the joyful news. O glorious Judge! O blessed God, who so "loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life!"

Jesus hath "tasted death for every man; and by the blood of his covenant he sends forth his prisoners out of the pit." Behold, he bids you arise; he calls you to "come forth;" he "proclaims liberty to the cap-

tives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. The Lord hath looked down from the height of his sanctuary, to hear the groaning of the prisoner, to loose them that are appointed to die." Now "turn to the strong hold, ye prisoners of hope." Now cry out, and say, "O Lord, I will praise thee; though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortest me!" Now cry mightily, "Though we be tied and bound with the chain of our sins, yet let the pitifulness of thy great mercy loose us!" Now, "believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved."

Behold the "Friend of sinners," and draw near. He has "plenteous redemption," and bids us come. His looks are full of grace; pardon in his hands; "all power in heaven and earth." He will subdue our sins, and set us free. He will restore to righteousness, and crown us with glory.

"There is no other name under heaven whereby we can be saved." Jesus is all our salvation. His blood atones; his Spirit pu-

rifies ; his intercession prevails. " The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all, and he bore away the sin of the world." He is " our refuge in the day of affliction ; our strength and fortress, light and life ; living water and bread that came down from heaven. If any man eat he shall never die ; and whosoever drinks shall never thirst."

Now present your offerings. Bring the sweet incense of sighs and supplications: " The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit ; a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise!" Mourn over your past life. Let your eyes run down, and cease not. Offer to God the life and death of his beloved Son. If you owe ten thousand talents, he will freely forgive. All he requires is, that you " go, and sin no more."

By all your sufferings, God has been saving you from worse. Confined a moment, to preserve you from that prison where there is no release. Many have found it, and re-

joiced in the Lord for his fatherly chastisement. "Before I was afflicted, I went astray, but now I have kept thy word." Jails, deaths, sufferings, all are sweetened by the presence of Christ. He is ease in pain, life in death,—heals the wounds of conscience, and gives us "the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." Then you will rejoice over adversity, and glorify God, that by a prison you have learned repentance and newness of life, are reconciled to Christ, and "delivered from the wrath to come."

Without regenerating grace, the best cannot be saved; with the soul renewed in God's image, the worst will find mercy. Even now, if, after all, you receive the Lord Jesus, and he becomes your peace; if his Spirit purifies your heart, whether you live or die, are released or confined, all in life and death is yours. "Joy is in the tabernacles of the righteous." The prison becomes a palace, if Christ dwell in us. If you depart now, sin is forgiven, and you

will be for ever with the Lord." If you live, it is to his glory, and in a short time he will say, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you!"

THE DYING MALEFACTOR'S PRAYER.

LUKE XXII.

O THOU that hangedst on the tree,
Our curse and sufferings to remove,
Pity the souls that look to thee,
And save us by thy dying love.

We have no outward righteousness,
No merits, or good works to plead;
We only can be saved by grace;
Thy grace will here be free indeed.

Save us by grace, through faith alone,
A faith thou must thyself impart;
A faith that would by works be shown,
A faith that purifies the heart.

A faith that doth the mountains move,
A faith that shows our sins forgiven,
A faith that sweetly walks by love,
And ascertains our claim to heaven.

This is the faith we humbly seek,
The faith in thy all-cleansing blood ;
That faith which doth for sinners speak,—
O let it speak us up to God !

Canst thou reject our dying prayer,
Or cast us out who come to thee ?
Our sins, ah ! wherefore didst thou bear ?
Jesus, remember Calvary !

Number'd with the transgressors thou,
Between the felons crucified,
Speak to our hearts, and tell us now,
Wherefore hast thou for sinners died ?

For us wast thou not lifted up,
For us a bleeding victim made ?
That we, the abjects we, might hope,
Thou hast for all a ransom paid.

O might we, with our closing eyes,
Thee in thy bloody vesture see ;
And cast us on thy sacrifice !
Jesus, my Lord, remember me !

Thou art into thy kingdom come ;
I own thee with my parting breath ;
God of all grace, reverse my doom,
And save me from eternal death !

Thy blood to all our souls apply,
To them, to me, thy Spirit give ;
And I, (let each cry out,) and I
With thee in Paradise shall live.

FOR MALEFACTORS.

PSALM LI.

O THOU, that hear'st when sinners cry,
Though all my crimes before thee lie ;
Behold me not with angry look,
But blot their mem'ry from thy book.

Create my nature pure within,
And form my soul averse from sin ;
Let thy good Spirit ne'er depart,
Nor hide thy presence from my heart.

I cannot live without thy light,
Cast out and banish'd from thy sight ;
Thy saving strength, O Lord, restore,
And guard me that I fall no more.

Though I have grieved thy Spirit, Lord,
His help and comfort still afford ;
And let a wretch come near thy throne,
To plead the merits of thy Son.

My soul lies humbled in the dust,
And owns thy dreadful sentence just :
Look down, O Lord, with pitying eye,
And save the soul condemn'd to die.

THE END.

JAMES NICHOLS, Printer, 2, Warwick-Square.



